

# Buying a piece of anthropology

## Part 1: Human Ecology and unwitting anthropological research for the CIA

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Fig. 1. 'The water torture'. From a woodcut in *J. Damhoudere's Praxis rerum criminalium, Antwerp 1556*. The interest of scholars in torture techniques demonstrated in this woodcut has not disappeared. Intelligence agencies have sought to provide covert funding for academic research through reputable funding agencies (such as the Human Ecology Fund examined in this article) to achieve their objectives.

*Editor's note: To provide a window on how anthropological research, and that of other social and behavioural sciences, is being appropriated in war, this issue of ANTHROPOLOGY TODAY features articles dealing with their use in two areas of warfare, namely interrogation and counterinsurgency. In this first part of a two-part article, David Price looks at one of several research programmes funded in the 1950s and 1960s by the Central Intelligence Agency under the MK-Ultra programme*

Although we routinely acknowledge the impact of colonialism on the history of our discipline, we seem to have a blind spot when it comes to the specific ways in which more recent interests of military and intelligence agencies intersect with anthropologists and their research. However, given current efforts to engage anthropologists in military and intelligence campaigns, we can no longer feign ignorance. Our neglect of this past seems to be a product of two factors: firstly the high levels of secrecy surrounding agencies such as the NSA and CIA, and secondly the fact that, for various reasons, anthropologists have been uncomfortable confronting questions relating to anthropologists' interactions with these agencies. Nevertheless, some of the CIA's past efforts to use and shape anthropological and social science research have been an open secret for decades – open, that is, to all who cared to procure publicly available documents and do some detective work.<sup>1</sup>

Though largely unexamined, the extent of covert CIA funding of American-funded social science research during the 1950s and 1960s was extraordinary. This unexamined state of affairs is all the more problematic considering that over three decades ago, the US Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities found that

[t]he CIA's intrusion into the foundation field in the 1960s can only be described as massive. Excluding grants from the 'Big Three' – Ford, Rockefeller, and Carnegie – of the 700 grants over \$10,000 given by 164 other foundations during the period 1963-1966, at least 108 involved partial or complete CIA funding. More importantly, CIA funding was involved in nearly half the grants the non-'Big Three' foundations made during this period in the field of international activities. In the same period more than one-third of the grants awarded by non-'Big Three' in the physical, life and social sciences also involved CIA funds.

Bona fide foundations, rather than those controlled by the CIA, were considered the best and most plausible kind of funding cover for certain kinds of operations. A 1966 CIA study explained the use of legitimate foundations was the most effective way of concealing the CIA's hand as well as reassuring members of funding organizations that the organization was in fact supported by private funds. The Agency study contended that this technique was 'particularly effective for democratically-run membership organizations, which need to assure their own unwitting members and collaborators, as well as their hostile critics, that they have genuine, respectable, private sources of income.' (US Senate 1976: 182-183)

Even though these covert funding programmes influenced our research agendas and our theories, American anthropologists have been surprisingly reluctant to learn their lesson and prevent this from happening again. This now leaves us vulnerable. In the US, research findings by anthropologists, psychologists and behavioural scientists are currently being applied to Bush's 'war on terror' in ways that are as yet incompletely understood because of

in which social scientists, including anthropologists, were led (mostly unwittingly) to provide input into interrogation techniques still in use today. The second part, to be published in a future issue, will examine more concretely how this research found its way into the *Kubark* manual used by US intelligence at detention facilities abroad and through its programme of 'extreme renditions'. See also the article by Roberto González on pp. 14-19 of this issue.



the elevated conditions of secrecy. If the past is any guide, we would benefit from scrutinizing how the intelligence community interfaced with academia to get what they want.

### MK-Ultra

In the early 1970s former US State Department Foreign Service employee John Marks used the Freedom of Information Act to secure the release of thousands of pages of government documents describing covert CIA programmes known as MK-Delta and MK-Ultra (Marks 1979, US Senate 1977). These programmes used unwitting scientists to study methodically whether effective forms of 'mind control', 'brainwashing', interrogation and torture could be achieved. Some studies investigated whether drugs, stress or specific environmental conditions could be used to 'break' prisoners or to induce confessions (Marks 1979, SIHE 1960). While no effective means of mind control were identified, these programmes produced significant data on coercion and interrogation that formed the basic research for the CIA's 1963 *Kubark Counterintelligence Interrogation* manual. This is the base document for the CIA interrogation and torture procedures that emerged in the 1960s and continue in the present era (CIA 1963b, 1983; McCoy 2006).

I would like to thank the three anonymous AT reviewers who provided me with solid editorial and analytical advice.

Fig. 2. Cover of a 1960 bibliographic report on 'brainwashing' by the Society for the Investigation of Human Ecology (SIHE).

1. For some examples of anthropological discussions of these relationships, see Castañeda 2005, Mitchell 2002, Price 2003a and 2003b.

2. Margaret Mead maintained a friendship with Harold Wolff for several decades; she knew him at least from the mid-1940s (MM M3, HW to MM 5/24/45). A story in the November 1951 issue of the *American Anthropological Association's News Bulletin* stated that Mead was the 'representative of anthropology' at a National Institute of Mental Health-sponsored Work Conference in Mental Health Research where she worked alongside Wolff (AAANB Nov. 1951:4-5). In 1951 Mead corresponded with Wolff on the subject of Mark Zborowski's anthropological studies of pain (MM M17, MM to HW 4/21/51). In 1958 she alerted Wolff to Daniel Gajdusek's research into Kuru among the Fore of New Guinea (MM C41, MM to HW 7/21/58).

3. There were also many other sorts of relationships that American anthropologists maintained with the CIA during the Cold War (see Price 2002). One example is given by Alfred Meyer, who wrote that in 1952 when he was the Assistant Director of Harvard's Russian Research Center, [anthropologist] 'Clyde Kluckhohn once called me into his office for a confidential chat. "Once in a while", he said, "I send a memo around to all the members of the Center in which I suggest that we discuss a specific problem." Of course, I had seen such memos and responded to them. "Well," he continued, "such suggestions of mine usually come from the local field office of the CIA, who phone me, saying, "Our uncle in Washington would like to know what you people think about such a problem." Kluckhohn told me that during the next semester he was going to be on leave, and the CIA agents wanted someone appointed to be their contact person.' (Meyer 2000: 21-22).

4. Raymond Prince published an illustration consisting of photo reproductions of pages of the *Human Ecology Fund Annual Report* of July 1961. The following projects appear in Prince's reproduction: 'Studies of the Nervous System in Disease': Harold G. Wolff, Loring J. Chapman, Armando O. Ramos; 'Motivation,

A declassified 1963 CIA report summarizing various MK-Ultra projects stressed the interdisciplinary scope of the project, noting that: 'over the ten-year life of the program many additional avenues to the control of human behavior have been designed by the [CIA's Technical Services Division] management as appropriate to investigation under the MKULTRA charter, including radiation, electro-shock, various fields of psychology, psychiatry, sociology, and anthropology, graphology, harassment substances, and paramilitary devices and materials' (CIA 1963a: 4). This report explains how MK-Ultra programmes secretly used CIA money to fund academic researchers affiliated with universities through Agency funding fronts designed to look like legitimate academic research institutions. In some cases these academics knew they were funded by laundered CIA funds, but in most instances they were completely unwitting participants. The process and CIA expectations were described as follows:

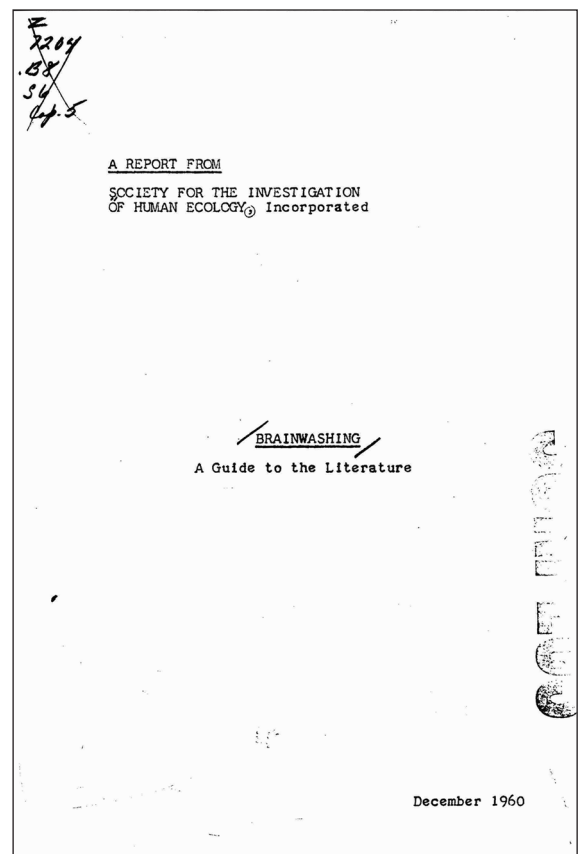
Annual grants of funds are made under ostensible research foundation auspices to the specialists located in the public or quasi-public institutions. This approach conceals from the institution the interest of CIA and permits the recipient to proceed with his investigation, publish his findings (excluding military implications), and account for his expenditures in a manner normal to his institution. A number of the grants have included funds for the construction and equipping of research facilities and for the employment of research assistants. Key individuals must qualify for top secret clearance and are made witting of Agency sponsorship. As a rule each specialist is managed unilaterally and is not witting of Agency support of parallel MKULTRA research in his field. The system in effect 'buys a piece' of the specialist in order to enlist his aid in pursuing the intelligence implications of his research. His services typically include systematic search of the scientific literature, procurement of materials, their propagation, and the application of test doses [of drugs] to animals and under some circumstances to volunteer human subjects.

The funding of sensitive MKULTRA projects by sterile grants in aid as noted in the preceding paragraph disclosed one of the principal controversial aspects of this program. (CIA 1963a: 7-8, emphasis added)

Through such arrangements an unknown number of witting researchers' projects were funded to produce reports that typically might have both public and secret versions. Public versions could be published in academic journals, while the CIA was given secret versions. While programmes using scholars as willing researchers often had their own ethical problems, they were fundamentally different from the CIA projects that funded researchers who had no idea for whom they were working.

Within the CIA, Richard Helms provided Dr Sidney Gottlieb and the CIA's Technical Services Divisions with \$25 million in funds between 1953 and 1963 for MK-Ultra projects studying human responses to drugs and environmental conditions that could manipulate individuals into adopting behaviours against their will (McCoy 2006: 28-29). CIA operations Bluebird and Artichoke studied the usefulness of psychotropic drugs in interrogation. Both Bluebird and Artichoke regularly used unethical and illegal research methods such as dosing unsuspecting government employees or members of the public with strong chemical agents like LSD, DMT, liquid concentrates of THC or opiates (see McCoy 2006: 26-28, Marks 1979:53-121). These drug experiments spilled over into the counterculture: the CIA searched for effective truth serums, but in its search unleashed Ken Kesey, Timothy Leary and Allen Ginsberg.

Many of these experiments were illegal and/or unethical: they placed unwitting prisoner, civilian and military 'research subjects' at risk, and left some individuals with permanent damage (see Weinstein 1990). The CIA's efforts to find means of effectively controlling or interrogating people drew in top American medical and social



scientists. Alfred McCoy observed that the CIA's 'alliance with behavioral science seems marvelously synergistic, placing mind-control research at the apex of the academic agenda and providing patronage that elevated cooperative scientists, particularly psychologists, to the first rank of their profession' (McCoy 2006: 31).

Though the programme chiefly involved psychologists, anthropologists wandered in and out of MK-Ultra-funded projects in ways that have been documented but remain poorly understood. Margaret Mead served on the advisory board of MK-Ultra's fronted *Research in Mental Health Newsletter* (Marks 1979), and Gregory Bateson experimented with LSD supplied by Harold Abramson, who was working on a CIA funded MK-Ultra drug programme (ibid.).<sup>2</sup> Anthropologists helped John Cladwell King, former chief of the CIA's Western Hemisphere Division and CEO of the Amazon Natural Drug Company, search for pharmaceutical plants in Amazonia (Cockburn and St. Clair 1998, Colby and Dennett 1995).<sup>3</sup> As I will discuss in the second part of this article, one anthropologist developed cross-cultural models of stress. Some of the uses of this CIA-funded work are only now becoming understood, but enough is known to find patterns of CIA co-optation and abuse of anthropological research (see Price 1998).

The key to the MK-Ultra programme's use of *unwitting* anthropologists and other social scientists during the 1950s and 1960s was anthropologists' uncritical reliance on legitimate-seeming organizations that were secretly CIA funding fronts. One such apparently legitimate CIA-funded foundation was the Society for the Investigation of Human Ecology.

## Human Ecology

The Society for the Investigation of Human Ecology (SIHE) was a CIA funding front which provided grants to social scientists and medical researchers investigating questions of interest to the MK-Ultra program (see Price 1998, Marks 1979, HEF 1963). The Society was founded in 1954 in New York by Harold G. Wolff, MD, a renowned neurologist and leading authority on stress, migraine and



Fig. 3. Harold G. Wolff, M.D. (1898-1962), founder of the Society for the Investigation of Human Ecology.

Attitude Formation, Decision Matrices': Martin T. Orne, Kurt Lang, H.J. Eysenck, K. Svalastoga, Frank R. Westie, Melvin L. DeFleur, Joseph Kennedy, Anthony J. Weiner, George A. Kelly; 'Personality Studies': David R. Saunders, William N. Thetford, Robert E. Goodnow, Zing Yang Kuo; 'Relationship Between Health, Personality and Environmental Factors in Groups': Beatrice B. Berle, Ronald Taft, A.H.M. Struik, C. Wendell King, Erik Allardt, Juhani Hirvas, Charles Fritz; 'Studies in Techniques and Methods of Psychotherapy': Carl R. Rogers, Raymond H. Prince; 'Studies in Small Group Behavior': Muzafer Sherif, Urie Bronfenbrenner; 'Communications in the Social Process': Charles E. Osgood, Doris Twitchell Allen; 'Other studies, grants': John B. Carroll, James A. Hamilton, Arnold D. Krugman; 'Publications, monographs': Eric D. Wittkower, Jacob Fried, Saul Sells, Fritz Kaeser-Hofstetter, Richard Stephenson, Jay Schulman, Herbert C. Kelman, Erving [sic] Goffman (Prince 1995: 408).

5. The emphasis in this passage occurs in the original document and probably signified that these terms were cross-indexed in the CIA files.

#### Abbreviations:

AAAFN: *American Anthropological Association Fellows Newsletter*

AAANB: *American Anthropological Association New Bulletin*

MM: Margaret Mead Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

Biderman, A.D. and Zimmer, H. 1961. *The manipulation of human behavior*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Carr, W.K. and Tullock, G. 1965. Fifteen years of Communist China. *The China Quarterly* 23: 174-176.

Castañeda, Q. 2005. The Carnegie mission and vision of science: Institutional contexts of Maya archaeology and espionage. In: Darnell, R. and Gleach, F. (eds) *History of Anthropology Annual, Vol. 1*, pp. 37-74. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

CIA 1963a. MKULTRA document labelled 'Report of inspection of MKULTRA/TSD' 1-185209, cy 2 See D, 26 July 1963 [declassified].

the bio-physiological mechanisms of human pain. Wolff was personally recruited by Allen Dulles to direct the Society's covertly funded programmes to identify effective methods of persuasion and interrogation (Price 1998: 398-40).

On 1 June 1961, the Society for the Investigation of Human Ecology was reorganized as the Human Ecology Fund, Inc. (for simplicity I refer to both organizations as 'Human Ecology' here) and while the operations of organization shifted from New York City to Cornell University's Medical School, most of the key personnel remained with the organization (HEF 1963). James L. Monroe was the Human Ecology Fund's executive director from 1961 to 1963; in 1964 David Rhodes became the executive director. Monroe had multiple CIA connections and oversaw the Air Force's comprehensive study of Korean War prisoners (Marks 1979: 156-57) and Rhodes was a psychologist involved in a series of unethical drug experiments, including efforts to dose unsuspecting people with an aerosol potion of LSD supplied by an MK-Ultra research programme (ibid.: 99). But the public face of Human Ecology was that of a paragon of respectable mainstream research: the 1961 directory of the *Encyclopedia of Associations* described the foundation as one that:

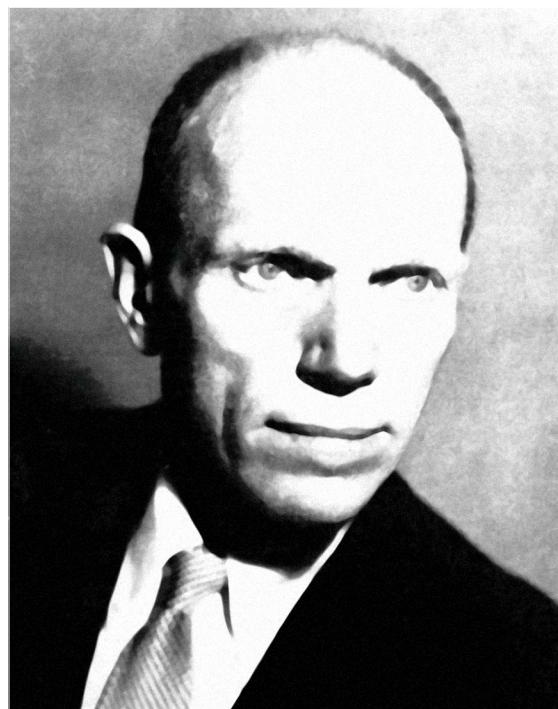
'[s]timulates and supports studies of man's adaptation to the complex aspects of his environment. Conducts investigations at universities and research centers in such subjects as psychic and physical brain function impairments, sudden environmental change on the health and attitudes of a large immigrant population (conducted among Hungarian refugees), undergraduate adjustments, ethnopsychiatry, heteropsychic driving psychosocial determinants of drug reaction, hypnosis, psychological and physiological variations in personality and personality change, the scientist in the Soviet Union. (EOA 1961: 291)

The declassified CIA documents released some decades later clarify that most of these study areas were of interest to the CIA in its efforts towards systematic design of effective persuasion, interrogation and torture methods.

Harold Wolff used his connections with Margaret Mead to try and identify anthropologists who could work on research sponsored by the Society for the Investigation of Human Ecology. On 3 December 1956 Wolff wrote to Mead requesting a copy of the mailing list for Mead's Institute for Intercultural Studies (IFIS) (MM C37 HW to MM 12/3/56). Wolff wrote that he 'would like to bring to the attention of the members [of IFIS] the interests of the Society for the Investigation of Human Ecology and the possibility for future research funding'. I have seen no documents indicating that Mead understood Wolff's true interest in funding anthropologists, but she did respond by informing Wolff how to acquire preaddressed envelopes for mailing to IFIS members (MM C37, MM to HW 1/4/57).

The Society for the Investigation of Human Ecology funded anthropological and sociological projects providing specific cultural information about Cold War enemy populations, such as China or Russia, as well as research into sexuality (both pleasure and pain were areas of interest for those studying interrogation), stress, and refugees (see Price 1998). The diversity in these different research projects made it difficult to discern a simple pattern indicating the CIA's interests. Some anthropologists were clearly lied to about the uses and purpose of their research. John Marks found documents indicating that when Cornell University had 'hired an anthropologist before learning that the CIA security office would not give her clearance, [Harold] Wolff simply lied to her about where the money came from' (Marks 1979: 150-151).

Fig. 4 lists all projects appearing in the Human Ecology Fund's 1961-1963 report.<sup>4</sup> Although the CIA's 1963 internal report clearly states that some MK-Ultra funded



scholars knew of the agency's involvement (CIA 1963a: 7-8), I have found no evidence of any particular scholar participating with knowledge of CIA involvement, and so we may assume that all recipients listed here were unaware of the CIA's sponsorship at the time they received these grants.

The table shows the projects in ascending order of Human Ecology Fund grant funding. Many of the low-funded projects probably had no intelligence or national security applications and simply provided the Human Ecology Fund with a necessary false appearance of legitimacy for the public and the academic community. Likely examples of such projects include the studies on cranial analysis, Puerto Rican migration and childrearing, and a restudy of Levittown, New York.

Human Ecology grants to scholars who conducted apparently innocent research unrelated to CIA research projects sometimes had additional benefits. John Marks noted that 'a [Technical Services Staff] source explains that grants [such as those to B.F. Skinner, Karl Rogers, Erwin Goffman for their own unrelated research] "bought legitimacy" for the Society and made the recipients "grateful." He says that the money gave Agency employees at Human Ecology a reason to phone Skinner – or any other recipient – to pick his brain about a particular problem' (Marks 1979: 160).

The Human Ecology Fund funded former British Nigerian colonial psychiatrist Raymond Prince to travel to Nigeria to undertake 'transcultural psychological studies' in the late 1950s. Prince had no knowledge of the CIA's funding of this research (see HEF 1963 and Prince 1962a, 1962b, 1963). Decades after the fact, Prince came to believe that his cross-cultural psychological research and filmmaking was funded not only to establish legitimacy for the Human Ecology Fund, but also to attempt to recruit foreign nationals into the CIA and 'to collect psychocultural data on cultures and countries of interest to the CIA for psychological warfare purposes' (Prince 1995: 407). A CIA document declassified in 1977 clarified that unbeknownst to Prince, the CIA's view was that his

study will add somewhat to our understanding of native *Yoruba* psychiatry including the use of drugs, many of which are unknown or not much used by Western practitioners. It will also assist in the identification of promising young [deleted by CIA censors] who may be of direct interest to the Agency.

Fig. 4. Known grants funded by the CIA research front known as the Human Ecology Fund, 1960-1963, ranked by grant size. Source: HEF 1963: 13-42.

Grant	Researcher	Field	Grant Size
Academy of Science for East Africa			\$500
Psychological effects of circumcision	Cansever, Gökçe	medicine	\$500
Aspects of Marquesan behavior	Suggs, Robert C.	anthropology	\$700
Craniological racial analysis	Hartle, Janet A.	anthropology	\$948.75
Conceptual development in children and young adults	Watt, Norman F.	psychology	\$2,250
African Research Foundation			\$1,000
Instrumentation in psychophysiology		medicine	\$1,000
Internal migration in Puerto Rico	Macisco, John J.		\$1,000
Self-image and reaction to isolation	Warbasse, Anne	psychology	\$1,058
Role conflict in Burma	Guyot, James F.		\$1,190
Journal: <i>Graphologische Schriftenreihe</i>	Cossel, Beatrice V.	graphology	\$1,470
Three workshops			\$1,500
Antecedents of revolution	Casuso, Gabriel	psychology	\$1,500
Hungarian refugees in the Netherlands	Kuyer, H.J.M.		\$1,611
Book: <i>The Psychology of Writing</i> .	Roman, Klara G.	psychology	\$2,000
Self-instruction language program	Carroll, John B.	education	\$2,456
Fallout shelters and attitudes toward nuclear war	Berrien, Kenneth F.	psychology	\$2,500
Creation and publication of: <i>Bioelectrics Directory</i>	Seels, Saul and Helen F.	biology	\$2,500
Review of research on sleep	Webb, Wilse B.	psychology	\$2,500
Psychophysiological analog information by digital computer	Zimmer, Herbert	psychology	\$2,505
Child-rearing antecedents of dependency and affiliation	Wardwell, Elinor S.	psychology	\$2,525
Comparative study of Chinese personality	Rodd, William G.		\$3,000
Aspects of upper class culture among the internationalized elite of Japan	Stover, Leon	anthropology	\$3,000
Review and Newsletter: <i>Transcultural Research in Mental Health Problems</i>	McGill University	psychology	\$3,000
Treatment of psychiatric disturbances by Yoruba native practitioners	Prince, Raymond H.	psychiatry	\$4,060
Factors that cause individuals to seek medical aid	Groen, J. J.	medicine	\$4,500
A restudy of Levittown, New York	Liell, John T.	sociology	\$4,525
Publications of <i>International Resources in Clinical Psychology</i>	Priester, H and H. David	psychology	\$5,000
Attitudes of Sierra Leone students	Bureau of Social Science Research		\$5,000
Behavior within the socio-cultural context	Scott, R., Howard, A.	anthropology	\$5,000
Emerging socio-political roles of scientists and managers in the USSR	Parry, Albert	Russian studies	\$5,000
Volume on Soviet psychology	Bauer, Raymond/APA	psychology	\$5,000
Changing patterns in the Chinese family	Huang, Lucy Jen	sociology	\$5,775
Child rearing in three cultures	Bronfenbrenner, Urie	psychology	\$6,020
Studies in the psychology of aging	Krugman, Arnold D.	psychology	\$6,700
Computer simulation of a simple society	Browning, Iben	computer science	\$7,500
Studies of small group behavior	Sherif, Muzafer	psychology	\$8,500
Experiments in extrasensory perception	Abrams, Stephen I.	psychology	\$8,579
Identification of individuals prone to schizophrenia	Mednick, Sarnoff A.	psychology	\$10,046
Effects of personality on drug reactions	Aaronson, Bernard S.	psychology	\$12,900
Mental illness and identity	Hirvas, Juhani	sociology	\$16,479
Mental illness and identity	Allardt, Erik	sociology	
Psychiatric rating scales	Samuel B. Lyster	psychology	\$22,551
Psychiatric rating scales	Preston S. Abbott	psychology	
Measurement of motivation	Eysenck, H.J.	psychology	\$26,030
Institute for Experimental Psychiatry	Orne, Martin T.	psychology	\$30,000
Neighborhood family clinics (Harlem)	Berle, Beatrice	medicine	\$32,817
Study of the genetic code	Bledsoe, W.W.	mathematics	\$35,000
Physique and psychological functioning	Haronian, Frank	psychology	\$39,000
Artificial intelligence	Browning, Iben	computer science	\$40,000
Pattern recognition	Bledsoe, W.W.	psychology	\$45,000
Comparative learning behavior of different personality types	Schucman, Helen	psychology	\$47,832
Comparative learning behavior of different personality types	Thetford, William N.		
Anthropological identification of the determinants of Chinese behavior	Carr, William K.	anthropology	\$48,480
Implications of a hypothesized congruence between personality systems	Gittinger, David R.	psychology	\$50,000
Panoramic Research, Inc.			\$80,000
Cross-cultural generality of meaning systems	Osgood, Charles E.	communications	\$83,406
Interdisciplinary conference program			\$116,116



- 1963b. 'Kubark Counterintelligence Interrogation [Manual] [declassified 1997]. Available at: <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB122/index.htm#kubark>
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- 1962b. Functional symptoms associated with the study of Nigerian students. *West Africa Medical Journal* 11: 198-206.
- 1963. 'Yoruba psychiatry'. Paper read at journal club, Toronto Psychiatric Hospital, University of Toronto, January 1963.
- 1995. The Central Intelligence Agency and the origins of transcultural psychiatry at McGill University. *Annals of the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons of Canada* 28(7): 407-413.
- Price, D.H. 1998. Cold War anthropology: Collaborators and victims of the national security state. *Identities* 4(3-4): 389-430.

*Prince* will be located in *Nigeria* thus carrying out the plan of developing the Human Ecology Fund as a world-wide organization. Since *Prince* will learn the *Yoruba* language this project offers a potential facility for [deleted by CIA censors] project 95 (Prince 1995: 412).<sup>5</sup>

This declassified document indicates that the CIA has long recognized the potential usefulness of ethnographic fieldwork, not only as a window into distant cultural worlds, but as a means of potential recruitment and even for the sort of pharmacological research that was examined for MK-Ultra interrogation research programmes.

Many Human Ecology-bankrolled projects appear to have had applications to MK-Ultra's 'coercive interrogation' and propaganda studies. The listed studies examining childhood conceptual development appear to have had applications to what the CIA's now declassified 1963 *Kubark* interrogation manual describes as the childlike regressive state induced by torture, which they more sweetly termed 'coercive interrogation' and the CIA now euphemizes as 'enhanced interrogation' (CIA 1963b). Research findings from Human Ecology-funded studies examining such things as the effects of isolation and sleep deprivation, stress, hypnosis graphology, and links between personality types and drug interactions likewise appear as vital components of the CIA's *Kubark* interrogation manual. Though these Human Ecology-financed studies are not each (though some were) specifically cited in the manual (which is a manual for interrogators who may stray into torture, not a peer-reviewed academic sourcebook, and thus contains very few citations) these studies were produced for and read by CIA personnel contributing to it. The key finding for anthropology in Alfred McCoy's book *A question of torture* is McCoy's demonstration that previously known CIA-funded MK-Ultra social science research projects were *not* primarily aligned with CIA propaganda or 'brainwashing' programmes, but produced knowledge that was to be quietly harvested by CIA personnel designing scientific means of conducting interrogation and torture (McCoy 2006: 43-46; cf. Prince 1995).

There are many elements of Human Ecology-funded research whose articulation with CIA needs is still poorly understood. For example, the funded bioelectrics research, or programmes establishing psychiatric scales, or group psychology studies may have been incorporated into the CIA's secret research on interrogation, or they may merely have provided an air of legitimacy for the foundation – obviously, psychiatric scales could be useful instruments for interrogators gauging interrogation subjects' mental health and responses. Questions remain concerning what the Human Ecology Fund's interest was in funding Dr Beatrice Berle's research on the impact of illness on families in Harlem (HEF 1963). It may simply be that the Fund was providing a Board member's spouse with a nepotistic kickback unrelated to MK-Ultra's desires (Berle was the wife of HEF Board member, educator, diplomat and cold warrior Adolf Berle), but given the CIA's record of experimental abuse of prisoners and low-ranking soldiers (Biderman and Zimmer 1961, Marks 1979), we may justifiably wonder what their interest in other relatively disempowered and poor populations may have been. Other listed Human Ecology-funded studies had obvious applications to MK-Ultra projects studying counterinsurgency and propaganda. These include funded studies examining revolutions, refugee studies, Chinese personality types, Chinese family structure, Soviet psychology, cross-cultural communication, and various studies examining elements of psychological profiling.

**Human Ecology, China, Hungary and elsewhere**  
China held a keen interest for Harold Wolff and the Society for the Investigation of Human Ecology. The CIA

### 23. Technical shortcomings of the drugs:

As of 1960 no effective knockout pill, truth serum, aphrodisiac, or recruitment pill was known to exist. MKDELTA was described as inherently a high-risk, low-yield field of operations. Three years later the situation remains substantially unchanged, with the exception that real progress has been made in the use of drugs in support of interrogation. Ironically, however, the progress here has occurred in the development of a total psychological theory of interrogation, in which the use of drugs has been relegated to a support role.

Fig. 5. The claim to have made progress in a 'total psychological theory of interrogation'. Extract from 'Report of Inspection of MK-Ultra' produced for the Director of Central Intelligence. Declassified 26 July 1963.

used Human Ecology and Wolff's presence at Cornell to investigate ways to take Chinese citizens living in the US and, as Lawrence Hinkle put it, 'steer them to [the CIA], and make them into agents' (Marks 1979: 149). Human Ecology-funded projects at Cornell investigated ways to train such agents to resist Chinese brainwashing efforts (Marks 1979: 150). Raymond Prince later concluded that one of Human Ecology's goals was to 'use their Chinese sample as a means to identify disgruntled refugees with suitable personality profiles who had fled the Communist regime 10 years earlier and might be persuaded to act as CIA agents back in China' (Prince 1995: 411). William Rodd studied differences in Chinese 'problem solving abilities', as well as 'difference in logical thinking' and value systems (HEF 1963: 17).

William K. Carr was given \$48,480 to study 'Anthropological identification of the determinants of Chinese behavior'. The report's summation of this work stated that:

[a]nthropologically, the task of identifying 'determinants of behavior' is less concerned with individual personality than with certain non-psychological or cultural factors that influence the individual within his social system. In general, the behavior of all members of a given society has a common structure distinguishable from the common behavior patterns of individuals in other societies. This similarity in group behavior may be attributed to the social system, rather than the personalities of the several members. It can be assumed that the organism is aware of a definite number of environmental factors and that these serve as stimuli to the organism.

William K. Carr is attempting to conceptualize the principal social determinant of selected aspects of Chinese behavior by using a system-analysis approach to the description of Chinese society. (HEF 1963: 17)

Given Raymond Prince's claim that some Human Ecology programmes were designed to recruit CIA operatives among Chinese citizens (Prince 1994), it is natural to wonder if Carr engaged in such activities, but there is little information on what his work entailed. Whatever Carr did find, he was well paid, with grants totalling over \$48,000 making him the anthropologist who received the most money from the Human Ecology Fund. Prior to receiving this grant, Carr had produced papers on 'China's Young Communist League, functions and structures' that may have been of interest to the CIA (see Franke 1959). In March 1964 Carr became a member of the Human Ecology Fund's staff (AAAFN 1964 [5]; see also Carr and Tullock 1965). Carr published very little research, so questions remain about his work for Human Ecology, and whether or not non-public reports of his work were produced.

The most famous Human Ecology-funded project was an ongoing programme that harnessed the energies of unwitting social scientists to gather intelligence for the

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CIA by interviewing Hungarian refugees (see Marks 1979, Stephenson 1978, HEF 1963). In the mid-1950s, Human Ecology sponsored two conferences where scholars examined the political, psychological and cultural means through which Hungarian refugees retained their identities under Soviet occupation (see SIHE 1958).

The CIA secretly sponsored other academic conferences during this period. By hosting such salons the CIA rented some of the best minds of a generation and directed them towards tasks that most would not have undertaken if their purpose had been disclosed (see also Saunders 1999). Other projects were smaller in scale with less tangible outcomes: for example, the results of another Human Ecology project were written up by anthropologist Leon Stover as a psychedelic science fiction story describing subtleties of intercultural communication in a story about efforts to film mental images of catatonics (see Stover 1972; L. Stover to DP, 11/28/94).

In his review of all CIA MK-Ultra projects, Sidney Gottlieb hoped that the Society for the Investigation of Human Ecology would become the CIA's eyes and ears, probing into areas of research that were of interest and of use to the CIA. Gottlieb dreamed that 'the Society would try to keep in touch with that part of the scientific research community which were in areas that we were interested in and try to — usually its mode was to find somebody that was working in an area in which we were interested and encourage him to continue in that area with some funding from us' (Weinstein 1990: 139).

### Connecting past and present

As I noted above, in the mid-1970s the US Senate discovered that a surprisingly large proportion of research grants issued during the escalation of the Vietnam War and other military Cold War incursions were either directly or indirectly funded by the CIA. Without having to account for their actions, these agencies were left free to set covert research agendas, to influence the direction in which scholars took their research, and to appropriate research for covert ends. Given that the 'war on terror' once again finds intelligence agencies seeking help from academia, we need to consider and evaluate these past interactions and be mindful that intelligence agencies have at times been silent consumers of our research.

Even apparently innocuous research can have covert uses. Here I have outlined but one of several fronts used by the CIA to fund and direct past research projects (for more on the use of such funding fronts see Eveland 1980, Marks 1979, O'Connell 1990, Saunders 1999, Wolf and Jorgensen 1970). In the second part of this article I will describe how some Human Ecology projects can only now be understood in the context of Harold Wolff's connections to research that would be used in writing the CIA's *Kubark* manual (CIA 1963b), which involved developing effective means of interrogation that most of us would regard as 'torture'.

Unwitting participation by reputable scholars channelled what appeared as innocuous academic research into covert unethical programmes. Through this practice the CIA helped build up the careers of some academics, influenced social science and behavioural research, and generally attempted to create informal networks they could tap for information to provide input into their covert goals. By their own admission, CIA money-laundering was at its most effective when funds flowed through seemingly innocent private foundations like the Human Ecology Fund. Few participants had any inkling that what they were doing served any goals other than their own.

More anthropologists today work openly for military and intelligence agencies than in the past, but the current push in military and intelligence circles for ever more

3. This Research Program has been actively underway since the middle of 1952 and has gathered considerable momentum during the past few months. It is now evident on the basis of work currently underway that approximately 94% of the projects contemplated can be handled through regular procurement channels by means of the customary contracts signed jointly by the Agency and the organization undertaking to carry out the work. It has also become apparent that approximately 6% of the projects are of such an ultra-sensitive nature that they cannot and should not be handled by means of contracts which would associate CIA or the Government with the work in question. This 6% of the current research effort now lies entirely within two well-defined fields of endeavor, namely:

(a) Research to develop a capability in the covert use of biological and chemical materials. This area involves the production of various physiological conditions which could support present or future clandestine operations. Aside from the offensive potential, the development of a comprehensive capability in this field of covert chemical and biological warfare gives us a thorough knowledge of the enemy's theoretical potential, thus enabling us to defend ourselves against a foe who might not be as restrained in the use of

these techniques as we are. For example: we intend to investigate the development of a chemical material which causes a reversible non-toxic aberrant mental state, the specific nature of which can be reasonably well predicted for each individual. This material could potentially aid in discrediting individuals, eliciting information, implanting suggestion and other forms of mental control;

4. It is highly undesirable from a policy and security point of view that contracts should be signed indicating Agency or Government interest in either of these two fields. In a great many instances the work in field (a) must be conducted by individuals who are not and should not be aware of our interest. In all cases dealing with field (b), it is mandatory that any connection with the Agency should be known only to an absolute minimum number of people who have been specifically cleared for this purpose. In no case should any manufacturer or supplier be aware of Government interest.

5. In many cases in field (a) where the researcher can be cleared and may be aware of our interest in the program, he is unwilling to have his name on a contract which remains out of his control in our files. Experience has shown that qualified, competent individuals in the field of pharmacological, physiological, psychiatric and other biological sciences are most reluctant to enter into signed agreements of any sort which connect them with this activity since such a connection would jeopardize their professional reputations.

6. Even internally in CIA, as few individuals as possible should be aware of our interest in these fields and of the identity of those who are working for us. At present this results in ridiculous contracts, often with cut-outs, which do not spell out the scope or intent of the work.

Fig. 6. Extracts from an undated declassified CIA summary of Project MK-Ultra, indicating how academics are unwilling to associate their names with the illegal and unethical activities involved, and spelling out some reasons why the real aims of the project should be kept secret even within the CIA, resulting in 'ridiculous contracts... which do not spell out the scope or intent of the work'.

expertise means that we also risk a return to covert funding of unwitting anthropologists, particularly in the context of the lack of linguistic and regional field expertise of these agencies, for example, in Muslim countries. As the CIA's 1963 MK-Ultra report noted, using unwitting scholars to conduct research in areas of need is the most effective way to claim their expertise for causes academics (including professional associations and ethics committees) would otherwise oppose, and for which they would otherwise need security clearance (CIA 1963a).

Today, some programmes like the Pat Roberts Intelligence Scholars Program (PRISP) and Intelligence Community Scholars Program are already openly advertising and funding students covertly placed in our university classrooms and research labs. These are effectively CIA, NSA and FBI employees inside our research environments on our campuses (Price 2005). Not knowing who we are working with, or sometimes even who we are working for, suggests that some of us may already be unwittingly engaged in activities that tarnish our academic reputation. If we do not want to go into history as collaborators with such coercive covert agencies, who may use our research to dominate and exploit the peoples we work with, then we must take decisive action now, identify and expose such programmes wherever we can, and advise our professional associations to recommend our colleagues not touch them ●

TO BE CONTINUED IN PART II